12: Crocombe OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23

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[For information on birthday parties, see Category 561.]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
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movements were more extravagant and exciting than those of the others; they were allowed, and did, break out of line for extra flourishes that took their fancy while still remaining true to the spirit of each type of dance. A notable feature of the dances is the identification with spirits and animals on the part of the dancers. Mistakes in drumming and dancing are thought very inauspicious for the well-being of the community. Although men and women do not dance as partners, the dances give men a chance to show off their attractions, while the women give signs to men who impress them.

3. *Economics*

Production. The Orokaiva work force involves, in some ways, everybody from the age he can walk almost until the day of death. The very young and the very old are expected to make whatever contribution they are capable of. The division of labour between the sexes has been the subject of enquiry by Williams, Waddell and Krinks. A sex basis in the division of labour is obvious in a great many activities, as the charts clearly show.[7] But even where activities are 'shared' between men and women, it is most common to see each sex group work at a different aspect of the task; they rarely do exactly the same job. Calculations by Waddell and Krinks show that the Orokaiva are fairly fully occupied in terms of the number of weekly working hours. Their calculations suggest that, given the present technology and social organisation, there is comparatively little slack in the working week that could be taken up by cash cropping activities on a major scale.

The working group is most frequently the household, occupied in the *pure.* Sometimes close relatives work together on larger tasks, helping each other in turn. Although old men do maintain their own gardens, they tend to receive frequent help from sons, sons-in-law and sometimes sisters' sons. Co-operation between men is also common during hunting and housebuilding. Co-operative groups of five or more men or women are also seen occasionally, e.g. for making roofing for a house, planting and harvesting yams. Co-operation of a total village is rare, but there are co-operative fishing and hunting expeditions. Activities related to feasting tend to be communal also.

Distribution. The Orokaiva have a subsistence economy where the bulk of goods produced are consumed by the household of the producer. Though patterns of exchange will take up a good part of the present work, it is necessary to state at the outset that only a small percentage of everyday produce enters the exchange system in any way. Waddell estimates that only 4.1 per cent of taro produced in Sivepe is disposed of by sale, gift exchange or barter. While the proportion is twice as high in Inonda, this is due to quite recent changes in the economic network in that area. One is bound to agree with Waddell that food exchanges, whatever their economic utility, are no great drain on Orokaiva resources. Of the produce entering the exchange network only a minute proportion leaves the village where it is grown. At a comparatively large feast I saw in Inonda in 1967, I estimated that Inonda was giving away, at the very utmost, 5 per cent of its annual production. As plantings are always made on a scale sufficient for survival *even if the harvest is poor*, there will be a surplus of at least 5 per cent after a good growing season. Unless the growing season is good,

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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TABLE II/5 (*continued*)

Activity	*Total hours*	*Percentage contrib.**
Both		*Men*
Paid work	1,128.8	56
Other crops – harvest	1,109.0	54
Sick – personal	442.6	53
Yam – harvest	412.6	53
Coffee – process	398.4	53
Collecting firewood	234.1	52
Social obligations – mourning	783.9	51
Other crops – market	66.9	51
Church services	1,946.2	46
Meetings	898.7	44
Fishing	165.0	44
Council work	824.2	42
Taro – maintain	2,551.6	37

* Where one sex carries out more than two-thirds of the work and where the total amount exceeds .01 per cent (29.0 hours) of the total hours active for the whole sample.

there is a ritual prohibition, for which I shall later quote the mythological charter, to hold a feast at all. 433 437

In any case, there seem to be two basic limitations to the size of a feast. First, the custom of restricting the number of guests to the inhabitants of *one* village, usually of about the same size as the inviting village. There are of course many variations to this custom but the principle of limitation is usually present. Secondly, the generosity shown to the guests, though outwardly most impressive, is restricted by the amount the guests can physically carry away. Though the food lying on the feasting platform looks inexhaustible to the observer, and the guests are capable of carrying away a heroic amount of food after a feast, the overall economic impact is minor. 527 527 574 628

Waddell remarks most interestingly that, in comparison with the main crops (taro, bananas and sugar-cane), a far higher proportion of dry season crops enter the exchange network. This applies especially to sago, breadfruit, sweet potatoes and yams. Waddell does not discuss nuts, but these are often given to friends and function as the small change of sociability. Both *tauga* and *puga* are stored for the season of shortage; betelnut is a traditional trade item. All vegetable produce is nowadays considered suitable for marketing. Villages near Popondetta have far more opportunity to sell or barter produce than the villages on the Mount Lamington foothills. 439 437 438

It is customary for animal food to enter the exchange network, either as a gift or as part of a festive meal to which guests are invited. Meat is ceremonial food, eaten for instance to mark the settlement of a quarrel. It is considered somewhat [261]

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461 regular working days. One man on vacation from regular paid employment worked both days with his wife in his subsistence garden but most relaxed in the village or visited kinsmen.

Table 4

Time patterns (6 weeks)
(Average hours per week)

	Men	Women	Both sexes
Traditional activities*			
Gardening	13.50	15.19	14.35
Hunting, fishing	1.29	1.19	1.24
Building	2.73	0.39	1.56
	17.53	16.77	17.15
Income-earning activities			
Paid work	2.60	-	1.30
Cash crops	0.79	0.31	0.55
	3.39	0.31	1.85
Non-economic activities**			
Sick	4.94	3.81	4.38
Travel	4.14	2.51	3.33
Religion	0.96	3.97	2.46
Council	0.41	1.44	0.92
	10.45	11.72	11.09
TOTAL	31.37	28.80	30.09

*Excluding domestic activities.
**For comparative purposes, we have recorded days taken up by non-productive activities, such as travel (including visiting and absence for reasons of other social obligations) as 7 hours, the standard used by Crocombe and Hogbin at Inonda (1963:62).

527 574 484 A tendency for men to regard the season as a time for renewing social contacts became more apparent in the week of the New Year. Although New Year's day was not specifically observed, the men who were well enough spent at least 1 day of the week visiting kin in other villages. Women too spent more time than usual away from the village but by New Year they were also resuming the routine of subsistence gardening. A general increase in movement between villages in the area appears to be usual at this time of the year. [438] Several villagers used to visit Kokoda at the New Year to trade traditional valuables with members of other tribes.

> Between friends who visit one another or who meet on a path, this may amount to little more than proferring an areca nut or piece of tobacco, much as we might offer a cigarette, but with a more definite expectation that it will be done. If the purpose of the visit is a little more serious, or if it is to be extended, the gift may be of food, and certainly a host will offer meals....

He further stresses that such small transactions may be as central to the economy as the more complex ceremonialised institutions involving reciprocal exchange. Simply because such transactions and associated activities are of a moral rather than a mechanical nature and incorporate notions of social status, they cannot properly be distinguished from strictly 'productive' enterprise.

In Sivepe time devoted to fulfilling social obligations is divided almost equally between the three categories of death (mourning), 1.1 hours, other ceremonial (feasting, farewell parties, etc.), 1.0 hours, and informal visiting, 1.2 hours per man-week.

While the pattern of visiting varies little from week to week, the more formal activities only occur irregularly. Only one death, that of a child, was recorded within the sample during the survey, but various people were involved in the deaths of four kinsmen resident elsewhere.

The duration of mourning seems to vary in relation to the physical and social distances separating the mourned from the mourners as well as according to the status of the deceased. In the case of the child's death, 90 per cent (all but four members) of the sample participated, together with a large number of clansmen from other villages and most of the third clan represented in Sivepe. The sample members mourned continuously for an average of 11 hours each, this being terminated by a church service on the mission station. In fact, all the mourning during period I fell in four weeks, an average of 5.5 hours per man-week being recorded for these weeks.

The time devoted to other ceremonial activities can be subdivided into four categories, the relative importance of which reflects the nature of social change among the inland Orokaiva. 'Parties' account for 38 per cent of the time so spent. These are normally held at the departure or return of kinsmen in paid employment or to mark 'birthdays' and are invariably characterised by the sale of plates of food and liquor and by western-style dancing to guitar groups.[1] Another 30 per cent of the time is devoted to traditional

[1] The term 'party' is in current usage in Orokaiva and other New Guinea languages. For a detailed description of one such event, see Crocombe 1966.

Another 30 per cent of the time is devoted to traditional dancing at events inspired by the external agencies, in particular church festivals and public holidays; 18 per cent is devoted to what might be called 'institutionalised parties', for example, the celebration of a church wedding or the opening of a women's club, again events associated with the contact situation; and a mere 14 per cent is devoted to feasting of a traditional nature, such a practice now apparently being relegated to a minor place in Orokaiva society.

All ceremonial events tend to be concentrated around Christmas when the gardens are in full production, and involving at that time as much as 6.2 hours per man-week in a single week (week 1).

(b) The external sector

All commercial production, together with those activities directly associated with the presence of the external agencies (for example, church services, formal meetings, etc.), fall within the external sector of the economy. Together they account for 10.6 hours per man-week, of which only 3.2 hours (spent in cash cropping and paid work) are concerned directly with the acquisition of cash.[1]

(i) Cash cropping. Most of the time spent in cash cropping is devoted to coffee production - 1.3 hours per man-week - although only five households are directly involved in it. The buying season is determined by the OCGS to coincide with the flush and extends from March to October. There is no off-season buying and coffee-producing activities are confined to this period, particularly the months of April through to July. Clearing of the gardens and any pruning are restricted to the start of the season to facilitate access to the trees. Most harvesting and processing is done early in the season, falling off gradually as stocks are accumulated, the main flush passes and the opportunity to sell is awaited.[2] While 1.9 hours per man-week were expended on coffee production for the whole of period I, virtually all activity was confined to the last six weeks when 4.2 hours were expended (2.0 hours on harvesting and the balance on processing). During period II only 0.5 hours were devoted to production, with a further 0.5 hours to marketing per man-week.

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[1] However, a further 0.3 hours per man-week are spent in marketing subsistence crops and products. See p.88.

[2] This reduction in the level of activity might equally be related to the initial sale of coffee, disappointment at the price obtained resulting in a marked loss of enthusiasm. Further, during period II, the labour requirements of the subsistence sector increase as do the demands made by the external agencies, and these factors may also influence the level of coffee production.

512 [178] with the external agencies, but also for the customary subsistence tasks. Quantitative analysis reveals significant patterns to be existing at two levels - between the days of the week and within each day.

(i) The weekly pattern. The Sivepe people speak of Wednesdays as 'Mission day' (for work at Sasembata mission station), Fridays as 'Council day' (for road maintenance and cleaning the village) and Sundays as a day of rest and attendance at church services. Of the remaining days, Monday and Tuesday are devoted to cash cropping, [805] and Thursday and Saturday to subsistence. They claim to have been directed by the Higaturu Local Government Council to work according to this routine and while it is not strictly adhered to, the concept of the week is firmly implanted in the Orokaiva mind (see Table 6:9).

512 461 [796] The basic household tasks and harvesting of subsistence crops are sustained throughout the week with little variation in time allocated, while others tend to be specific to certain days. Sunday (with Wednesday) has the shortest activity day, of 5.6 hours, this being largely a reflection of the Church's insistence that it be treated as a day of rest. Well over half the day's activities are devoted to attendance at church services, the harvesting of foodstuffs, and household tasks. Two other categories of activities assume a greater level of importance on Sundays: social obligations, particularly informal visiting, and other subsistence activities (house construction and the preparation of tools and equipment). Both are connected with the fact that, following church, much of the day is spent in the village. Although church and council work are largely restricted to their allotted days, little time is actually devoted to them and they do not appear to modify substantially the activity patterns for those days; similarly no direct relationship can be drawn between time spent on cash and subsistence cropping and the pattern of activities on the days ascribed to these tasks.

[527] The marketing of subsistence crops is restricted to Thursdays, the day of the Saiho market, while the time devoted to social obligations reaches a peak on Fridays and Saturdays when 'parties' are normally held. Sundays apart, however, the daily variation in activity patterns is not great. The total range in activity time for all the days is only 0.5 hours but on Sundays a smaller proportion of the time is directed towards productive enterprise - only 56 per cent of the total. The other days, with the exception of Friday, fall within the range of 73 to 84 per cent. On Friday only 61 per cent of the time is spent productively, probably because garden tasks are disrupted by council work in the early part of the morning. In general where extra-village activities recur each week, particularly early in the day, the proportion of productive work falls. This is apparent in the case of lengthy tasks such as clearing and sago-making, which are almost entirely restricted to those weekdays free of external commitment.

entirely mourning and funeral feasts. The bulk of the time is evenly divided between more or less formal social occasions and visits to kin and friends. The formal occasions include traditional feasts to mark the end of a dispute, to distribute the first fruits of a garden planted with the help of others, to mark the birth of a first child and to give or receive returns for feasts held previously. They also include non-traditional celebrations such as parties to mark birthdays, the opening of a new school and the saint's day of the local church. Such occasions usually occupy at least half a day and continue until midnight or dawn, whereas visits, as recorded here, are generally of only a few hours' duration. Visits may be made simply to see a friend or kinsman or they may be specifically to make or receive a gift, to return a borrowed article such as a gun, lamp or sago-beater or to discuss matters of common concern such as a projected feast. Visits occurred more during periods II and III but feasts and other formal occasions occupied more time during the latter part of the wet season, when they amounted to 3.1 hours per person per week compared with 0.3 hours per week in the dry and 1.9 hours per week at the beginning of the wet.

Among other activities, the most frequent include seeking employment in Popondetta, journeys impeded by flooded streams or rain and meeting kin or friends returning from visits. The time devoted to them varies greatly from week to week. For instance, after the road-building work near the village ceased early in 1964, little time was spent in gambling or seeking paid work.

The time shown in Table 7:3 as occupied by sickness represents visits to the aid post for personal sickness, care of the sick and attendance at the fortnightly infant welfare clinic.[1] As noted, the incidence of sickness tends to be greater during wet weather when malaria and epidemics of influenza may occur.[2]

Individuals devote a total of 10.5 hours per week to non-productive activities. However, the distinction between these and the productive activities is not clear cut. For instance, part of the labour input in gardening may be designed to ensure a surplus of certain foodstuffs to meet specific social obligations. Similarly, visits to a kinsman may be undertaken in order to organise production and other aspects of a future feast, to assist in time of need or to make or receive a gift of food.

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[1] In addition to this time, individuals were inactive through sickness for an average of half a day a week (see Tables 7:1 and 7:2).

[2] During 1964 there were two influenza epidemics, in April and December.

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

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mainly on Wednesdays on the rare occasions when it is performed; services are naturally on Sundays though there is a lesser concentration on Friday due to the effect of the two Good Friday services and the occurrence of Christmas Day on a Friday in 1964. Council work on cleaning household areas is spread much more over the week than the ideal suggests, but communal cleaning of the village square is usually restricted to Fridays. The ideal of Sunday as a day of rest is not entirely borne out, in reality. The mean duration of activity on Sunday is 5.7 hours, little below the mean for the other days, but the activities pursued tend more towards leisure than on other days. Thus, 1.2 hours are taken up in social obligations, 0.6 hours in church services and 1.1 hours in hunting and fishing; the latter is often associated on Sundays with 'picnics'.

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The 'ideal' pattern excludes many of the village activities, but some of these also are carried out more on certain days than on others. Marketing is restricted to the Popondetta market-days (Wednesdays and Saturdays). The increased emphasis on hunting and fishing on Fridays is designed to provide commodities for sale in the major Saturday market. The incidence of paid work is naturally almost entirely on weekdays since employment of labour is almost exclusively by Europeans; the small amount of weekend work was on the construction contract at the airstrip. As explained, the concentration of hours of sickness on Wednesdays is due to the fortnightly infant welfare clinic at Ijika. Social activities other than visiting and those associated with deaths are now more or less confined to the weekends, often extending from midday or earlier on Saturday to after dawn on Sunday. The only other activity with a notable periodicity is purchasing, this being mainly carried out on Saturdays, either after marketing or as an isolated activity.

The duration of activities

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Table 7:11 shows the mean duration, in hours, of each activity and the standard deviation from the mean. It also shows the mean time of day at which each activity occurs, in terms of the mean mid-point of the period shown in the 'duration' column and the standard deviation from this mean. There is clearly a wide range in the duration of individual activities and in three cases (the weeding of minor crops, entrepreneurial activities and church services) the standard deviation exceeds the mean duration. The mean duration of a session of forest clearance is three hours, but two-thirds of all sessions last between one and five hours.

The mean duration of sessions devoted to specific garden tasks, such as planting or harvesting taro, is comparatively short, since several different tasks are commonly performed during a single visit to a garden. People usually leave for the gardens in early or mid-morning and return in mid-afternoon. With cash crops a whole

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472 achievement of several ambitions, including the acquisition of a carpenter-built house. He spends more time on cash-producing activities than any other villager and is the recognised spokesman in all village-level contacts with the external agencies. Through his experience he was able to win and fulfil the construction contract at the airstrip, as well as arranging for the sale of hardwood trees to the Administration, which others could, but did not do. Half of the time spent on entrepreneurial activities is on the trade store and the rest mainly on the contract. As will be shown in Chapter 12, these activities are more rewarding than cash cropping, and the entrepreneur spends less than 0.5 hours a week on his coffee holding and 1.0 hour a week on copra. Paid work and the other main source of cash, marketing, account for only 1 hour a week. Altogether, involvement with the monetary sector and external agencies occupies about 19 hours a week, or 37 per cent of the total - a higher proportion than for any other villager.

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461 The most time-consuming activity after entrepreneurial activities is hunting, although prior to his purchase of a shotgun in July Lawrence spent very little time this way. This and other food-producing activities occupy as much time as paid work and entrepreneurial activities and double the amount spent on subsistence gardening. Productive activities in both sectors account for almost 42 hours, 80 per cent of the weekly total.

It is clear that for the entrepreneur cash-producing activities have the highest priority once subsistence is assured. In this connection, it is noteworthy that during the dry season, the intensive labour by all the men on construction of the copra-drier took precedence over other activities, but when a pig invaded his garden Lawrence spent two days in fencing and only then resumed construction of the drier.

512 [527] [431]

Marjorie. This woman is aged 21 and is married to Embogi's eldest son, who began establishing a coffee garden during the survey. They have one son, and held a party to mark his first birthday in March. Marjorie was born in Hoborita village, as were four other Ikonda residents, and she was educated to standard V. Her father's brother is a teacher at Popondetta mission school, where several other relatives also work and she spent a considerable amount of time visiting these and other kin, usually taking gifts of garden produce and receiving in return storebought foods and cash. In addition to the average 2.7 hours a week spent in this way, she was absent for 13 days on visits and for another 6 days on mourning and funeral obligations when her father and her husband's mother's brother died within a week of each other. Her frequent visits and gifts to her kin were

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 164]